1: DeLand O-4 (No date)1908 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

323 the whites came among them; and that when they saw the bril-
301 liantly colored beads of the traders, they conceived the idea of improving their art by using these beads. If they ever possessed the art of making glass de novo, there is no record, tradition, or other evidence of it, that I have been able to find."

Was It Ancient Art. "One of many reasons, though perhaps an insufficient reason, for believing the art to be of no recent origin among them, is that they used the triangular pendants, not as ornaments only, but as evidences of betrothal, as long ago as
[584] the oldest men can remember. When a girl was promised in marriage in her infancy by her parents, as was not infrequently done, one of these pendants was tied to her forelock so as to hang down over her forehead. When the promise was fulfilled, the husband removed the pendant and threw it away." (p. 22-23.)

439 **Inter-Tribal Trade.** "With the nomadic tribes around, they exchanged their agricultural produce for horses, and, recently,
[824] for robes. When the Dakotas saw a certain flower (Liatris punctata) blooming on the prairie, they knew that the corn was ripe, and went to the villages of the farming Indians to trade. From
721 the time they came in sight of the village to the time they disappeared there was a truce. When they had passed beyond the bluffs, they might steal an unguarded pony or lift a scalp, and were in turn liable to be attacked." (p. 27.)

439 **Trade With Pacific Coast—Shells.** "It appears probable that they once carried on trade indirectly with the tribes of the Pacific coast, for they had Dentalium shells similar to those obtained on the Pacific and they prized them so highly that the white traders found it advisable to obtain them for the trade. As late as 1866, ten of these shells, of inferior size, costing the traders only a cent a piece, would buy a superior buffalo robe, and formerly only two or three of the same quality were paid for a robe. Modern traders, with whom the writer had conversed, obtained their shells from eastern importers, and know nothing of the original source of supply. They supposed them to come from the Atlantic coast or the Great Lakes, and called them 'Iroquois shells,' which is probably their corruption of the Chinook 'hyakwa;' but it is possible the reverse is the case.

439 "They also used, and still use, as ornaments, fragments of the
301 **Abalone** shells (one or more species of **Haliotis**) of the Pacific,

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

593 [60] *mų'he* and others speak of her as *kų̊'hE*. An old man addresses an old wife as *mo'kaka*, meaning "old woman," and she addresses him as "old man." The husband usually lived with his wife's people, and the strength of bond between husband and wife was in a large measure determined by the circumstances of marriage. If parents of a lineage possessing an important tribal bundle secured a white buffalo robe and had a daughter or daughters of marriageable age, they would invite in a young man of another family distinguished for its important tribal bundle and complete a marriage. Such marriages were likely to be permanent, since both the husband and the wife were partners in an important ceremony. When children were born, the bond between husband and wife was further strengthened.

593 462 There was a marked sex dichotomy between husband and wife. The woman did the housework, cared for the gardens, repaired the lodge, and, when on tribal hunts, did much of the butchering, while the man did the hunting, cared for the horses, and protected the village in case of attack. The woman was expected to prepare food for ceremonies in which the husband was participating, and, in the buffalo-calling ceremonies, she was expected to "walk with the buffaloes." She was also expected to "walk" with her husband's "fathers" in ceremonial transfers of age-grade societies.

586 A woman could divorce her husband by the simple expediency of telling him to leave if they were living in the wife's parents' lodge; if living in her husband's parents' lodge, she collected her personal belongings and the children and returned to her parents' lodge. A woman divorced because of cruelty or adultery on the part of her husband, while a man would leave his wife because of trouble with her family or infatuation for another woman.

581 584 596 Few marriages were consummated by mutual selection of the prospective mates; rather the two households made the selection, and children were expected to obey their parents even to the extent of approving mates selected for them. The ties which held husband and wife together were first the respect for their parents, but, when children were born, this parental respect was replaced by mutual affection for the children. Since divorce was easy and common, the household organization was strong,

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and the extended household preserved the structure in spite of numerous separations of individual families.

When marriage was by exchange of gifts and a feast, and the husband lived with his wife's people, he held prior claim to the wife's sisters as they became of marriageable age, and such marriages were encouraged.

Older brother–younger brother (*mų'kas–mi'cų'ka*).—The bond between brothers was very strong. It was based on common blood and residence and included all in the household who stood in an older brother–younger brother relationship. There was no distinction between siblings and children of the mother's sister if all had a common residence. Older brothers cared for their younger brothers, taught them games and the care of the horses, and teased each other mildly. Quarrels were rare and soon forgotten. The older brother who had participated in the ceremonies would urge the younger brother to follow his example and would assist his younger brother in collecting materials to be presented to the father's clan. If the younger brother showed little interest in fasting or ceremonial participation, the older brother could and frequently did severely criticize him. If a brother were killed in battle, his brother was expected to inflict self-torture and to revenge his death. He also had first claim to his brother's widow, and she could not marry until he made known his intentions.

When grown up and married, brothers co-operated in providing for their mother's household. Brothers co-operated in the purchase of ceremonial bundles and rites. This intimate bond continued for life and was extended to include mother's sister's son's and father's brother's sons, the feeling of nearness being determined by residence and participation in joint activities.

Older sister–younger sister (*mirukE'–ptą'ka*).—The bond between sisters was very strong and was based largely on common blood, mutual activities, and lifelong residence together. No distinction was made between sisters with different fathers, even when the fathers were of different clans. Neither was distinction made between one's own sisters and daughters of the mother's sister if all grew up together in the same household. There was not, however, the same close bond of affection with "sisters" of the father's second wife when his second wife occu-

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pied a separate lodge. In fact, there was likely to be mild resistance when the girl's own household disapproved of the other marriage which they were obliged to tolerate because of the absence of mature males in their own household. The older sister acted as a "little mother" to her younger sisters, looking out for them while the mother was in the garden or at work tanning hides. When the older sister married, each of the younger sisters became an eligible mate, and frequently sisters remained together through life, possessing a common husband. They inherited the mother's household and gardens, and the oldest sister became the head of the household. When there were several sisters, the younger ones who did not wish to marry the older sister's husband would move into a lodge where the females were of their clan and closely related, helping the household with their work in the gardens. Her brother would select a husband for her and provide for the exchange of goods so that, when the older women died, she would have exclusive possession of a lodge of her own. In the late historic villages, it was often impossible to find space for additional lodges, since all were closely grouped within a fortification.

Quarrels between sisters were generally unknown, and younger sisters who moved to another lodge did so out of respect to the married sisters, believing that a man having too many wives would not be able to provide for all of them. A sister would raise children of a deceased sister, and, the tribe being matrilinear, there was no change of clans. The relations of sisters to each other and to the mother was the foundation of the Mandan household and was based on the inheritance of the lodge, lodge property, and the gardens. A daughter was expected to help the mother and to take over her mother's property when she died.

Brother–sister (*mi'cų'ka–ptami'hE*).—Brothers and sisters played together when young, and there was a close bond of affection between them. As they grew older, they avoided being alone together, and the prevailing games and economic activities separated them. Even after marriage, a man considered his mother's household his own. After his mother's death, his interest in his sister and her household continued. He would bring her portions of fresh meat from animals he had killed. If she had no horses, when returning from a raiding expedition, he would

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

554 703 of the cattail plant in his hair. Those stabbed by a knife or spear could wear a stick carved to resemble a knife. One who had been shot in battle painted red spots on his shirts, leggings, or robes with red stripes below to indicate bullet holes and blood dripping from the wounds. Men painted horse tracks on their blankets to indicate the horses they had stolen. These tracks were bunched to indicate the number taken on each expedition.

727 597 581 Small children too young to remember their parents were frequently taken prisoners and adopted into the village. They were "struck" by the warriors who were given credit toward their war record but such records were not related during ceremonies once the children were adopted into the households. Girls approaching marriageable age were frequently returned alive to the village and sold to those needing an extra wife.

554 562 703 Women also qualified for war honors and were eligible to wear the same decorations as men. Informants remembered a number of women who had struck an enemy and had displayed their war honors during the Scalp Dance. One woman concealed herself at the entrance to her lodge and hit an Assiniboine on the head with a stone hammer. She scalped him and, during the dances, received a hearty applause whenever she was leader of the line of dancers, carrying her scalp on a stick.

554 703 The war records enumerated above constitute the principal awards having social recognition and fall into two general groups: awards limited solely to war leaders and consisting of scalps which were worn on their clothing or carried on scalp sticks and awards to warriors consisting of peculiar painting of the clothing, wearing of coyote tails, and certain feathers. Only those who had led many war parties and had been successful attained the highest ranks as chiefs unless their lack of significant successes in warfare was compensated with a record of many feasts during which time much property was given away or the possession of important tribal bundles. There was a series of designs painted or woven on robes which proclaimed the amount of goods so disposed of.

MARRIAGE AND THE HOUSEHOLD

581 584 Marriage was an exceedingly important event among the leading families of a Mandan village, but for the average family

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

not possessing wealth or important sacred bundles it was largely a social event involving the two households. Although young men would court their girls, marriages were arranged by the relatives, who disapproved of elopements. The mother would watch her daughters, and, when she saw that they were seeing the young men often, she would discuss the matter with her husband. She would advise her daughters not to marry without a considerable exchange of goods, as to do so would be grounds for criticism. Mothers would explain the importance of ceremonial bundles and advise their daughters of the importance of keeping them in the lodge. People would say that a daughter was no good if little was received at her wedding.

There were in each of the Mandan villages a large number of families owning or controlling important tribal bundles. These families were considered the authorities on tribal lore and custom. They received, in addition to the produce of their gardens and their share of meat and hides from animals taken on the group hunts, a great deal of property and honors for officiating at the ceremonies. To preserve their status, they endeavored to have a considerable display of goods at the marriage of one of their children. Families with important related bundles endeavored to marry their children into families also having important bundles, the feeling being that those reared in a lodge where important bundles were kept were better trained in learning the complicated rites associated with tribal bundles. A household that held an important tribal bundle inherited within a clan endeavored and generally succeeded in selecting a son-in-law who was of the same clan as the daughter's father. It was also believed that a man and his son-in-law got along better when they were of the same clan. In a large measure, the Mandan were successful in preserving most of their rich ceremonialism through the smallpox epidemic of 1837 because of the character of the formal training of those who were to inherit the traditional rights and responsibilities for the ceremonies and because of a system of preferred marriage in which the parents of both households selected their children's mates. It can be definitely said that the bulk of Mandan tribal lore was preserved by a small number of families, that their status was high in the

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

581 776 796 village, and that they endeavored by selective marriages to keep the bundles and the associated ceremonies within their group.

584 The Mandan taught their children that they should marry by the same method as their parents married. An analysis of the various methods of marrying will illustrate the significance of this Mandan rule.

584 437 778 583 The method used by the most distinguished families was known as "choosing a son-in-law and buying him a sacred bundle." The parents of a young woman who had reached the age when she should marry selected a young man who had a good reputation as a warrior and hunter and whose family owned an important ceremonial bundle. They would buy a white buffalo robe from some of the hunters or trade corn and horses for it with one of the many tribes that came to the village each fall. These robes were highly valued and would cost a family a high price in horses, garden products, and robes. Having secured one of these robes, they discussed the proposed marriage with the oldest daughter and secured her consent. It was important to get the daughter's consent, since, should she refuse after the marriage arrangements were instituted and run away, the village would learn of it and speculate as to the causes for her action. A daughter was expected to obey her parents and forget any other young men she had been seeing.

584 431 778 The young man was invited in by the girl's father, and an offer of marriage to the daughter was suggested. A robe was put down, and he was asked to sit on it with the young woman. The white buffalo robe was put over their shoulders, and they were given food prepared by the girl's mother. If the girl had younger sisters, they sat with him and became his wives when they were grown. The girl's brothers brought their new brother-in-law horses. As soon as the food had been eaten, he walked out and onto the top of his father-in-law's lodge, where he addressed his father's sacred bundle, announcing that the white robe was offered to his father's gods. His father's sister would come to the lodge when hearing him make this announcement and take the robe down to care for it until he performed the ceremony.

585 431 778 Having made the vow to perform the rites, he began collecting robes and other property and was assisted by his wife and

2: Bowers E-5 (1930-1931)1950 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

585 778 left there to disintegrate. If the ceremony was to the various Holy Women, it was wrapped around a figure representing an old woman and placed on a pole erected at the side of the wife's lodge.

585 778 431 The ceremony completed the marriage, and it was believed that the wife or wives were married to the husband's ceremonial bundles. A marriage in this manner brought together all the people of the village and usually a large number of people from the other villages; those having rights in the ceremony came to receive presents, and the others came to see the presents but more particularly the painted white robe.

584 583 A second class of marriages was known as "marriage by exchange of presents." The young man's parents selected a young woman who was acceptable to their son or who had received some attention by the son. The young man's parents went to the girl's parents and offered them a specified number of horses for their consent to the marriage. If the marriage was approved, the horses were taken to the girl's lodge and tied to the door. The girl gave the horses to her brothers, who were expected to give her an equal or greater number, which she took to the young man's lodge and presented to his father.

585 The marriage ceremony was held four or five days later to allow time for the preparation of the feast. The food was prepared by her mother and brothers' wives, who, on the designated day, carried the food to the young man's lodge and left immediately without waiting for the completion of the ceremony. When the women returned, the girl left for her prospective husband's lodge, leading the horses. The young man's relatives were gathered in the lodge, and a woman who had been married in this manner was selected to pass the food. Each of the young man's female relatives brought presents which were stacked in a pile. The act of eating together completed the ceremony. Word was then sent to the girl's parents, and the females of the lodge came for the empty vessels and took the presents as their own.

591 The husband's mothers and sisters presented her with presents which consisted chiefly of clothing, and she remained with her husband in his parents' lodge. She assisted with the work but was not considered a co-owner of the lodge property. In the

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

262 which is so favourite a dish among the northern Indians, is not much in use among the Mandans. Their only drink is water, for they are unacquainted with the method of preparing fermented
[273] liquors. They did not obtain any spirits, either from the American Fur Company, or the agents of Messrs. Soublette and Campbell; hence an intoxicated person is scarcely ever seen. They are extremely fond of sugar, and likewise of salt, which they procure from their lakes, and, if the supply is insufficient, purchase from the Whites. They are likewise fond of coffee and tea, well sweetened. It has been affirmed, that several North American nations, especially those which speak the Algonquin language, are cannibals, and more particularly the Chippeways and the Potawatomis; but I found no trace of this unnatural custom among the Missouri nations.

592 Two, and sometimes three, families usually live together in an Indian hut, commonly the
595 father, with his married sons or sons-in-law. Polygamy is everywhere practised, and the number
596 of wives differs; however, they have very seldom more than four, and, in general, only one. The women are very skilful in various kinds of work, particularly in dyeing and painting the buffalo
386 robes. They extract a red colour from the roots of the savoyenne, or from buffalo berries; yel-
824 low from a lichen of the Rocky Mountains; black from belianthus, as well as from a black stone
439 or clay; blue and green they extract from European substances. Among the Mandans, Manitaries, and Arikkaras, the women, as Lewis and Clarke relate, manufacture beads from coloured glass. They powder those which they have obtained from the traders, and mould them into different shapes. This custom is, however, no longer common. The dyeing of the skins, of
323 which many travellers have spoken, employs a great portion of the women's time. These three nations understand the manufacture of earthen pots and vessels, of various forms and sizes. The clay is of a dark slate colour, and burns a yellowish-red, very similar to what is seen in the burnt tops of the Missouri hills. This clay is mixed with flint or granite, reduced to powder by the action of fire. The workwoman forms the hollow inside of the vessel by means of a round stone which she holds in her hand, while she works and smooths the outside with a piece of poplar bark. When the pot is made, it is filled and surrounded with dry shavings, and then burnt,
501 when it is ready for use. They know nothing of glazing. With respect to their boats, the North Americans are far more expert than the Brasilians, Patagonians, and other South Americans, who live on the banks of rivers, and yet have contrived no means to pass them. The Chippeways and other northern nations have handsome vessels of birch bark; the Esquimaux makes his kiack, which is curiously covered with seal skin; and on the Missouri, especially among the Mandans, there are boats of buffalo skin, which are represented in the plates accompanying this work. They are very light, of a circular form, stretched on a frame of several pieces of wood crossing each other, and may be carried on the shoulder of a single individual.

584 If a young Indian desires to marry, and has obtained the consent of the girl, he endeavours to procure that of her father; when he is certain of this, he brings two, three, nay, even eight or

6: Wied-Neuwied T-5 (1832-1834) 1843 NQ17 Mandan NQ17

ten horses, and fastens them to the hut of the young woman, who gives them to her father. The latter then takes other horses, and if he has them not himself, his relations assist him, and these horses are fastened, in return, to the hut of the intended son-in-law. In such a case an estimate is previously made of the number of horses possessed by the woman's relations, for all presents are returned in equal number. The bride next boils some maize, and daily carries a kettle or dish filled with it to the hut of the bridegroom. After some time has elapsed, the young man repairs to the hut of his bride, where he passes the night with her, and the marriage is considered as complete. The young couple often continue to reside in the hut of the father-in-law, but they more frequently build a new hut for themselves; sometimes, however, they afterwards separate. The father-in-law is, subsequently, the principal person in the hut; everything depends on him, and is done on his account, and for him; if game is killed, the flesh is first presented to him, &c. There are often many children in these Indian families; some had as many as ten; yet, on the whole, the Indians have not so many children as the Whites, doubtless because they keep them longer at the breast. They are extremely fond of them, but the children are often weak and sickly, in consequence, it is supposed, of the hard labour which the women have to perform. I was universally assured, that the new-born children are of a reddish colour. The births are, in general, extremely easy, and the mother bathes in the river immediately afterwards, even if it is frozen; in ten days the child is considered as safe, having got over the most dangerous period. A person is paid to give it the name chosen by the parents and relations. The child is held up, then turned to all sides of the heavens, in the direction of the course of the sun, and its name proclaimed. They have cradles for their infants, consisting of a leather bag, which is suspended by a strap to a cross beam in the hut. These cradles of the Mandans are not so elegant and beautifully worked as those which we saw among the Sioux and Assiniboins. The children of these Indians are subject to no kind of discipline whatever; they may do and say whatever they please, and nobody finds fault with them. Everything is done to excite a spirit of independence and self-will in the boys; if the mother speaks to one of them, he will very likely slap her face, or kick her, nay, sometimes he will do the same to his father, who says, coolly, bowing his head, this boy will one day become a famous warrior. The men sometimes treat their wives very brutally; and it has not unfrequently happened, that a woman, after such treatment, has left the hut and hanged herself on a tree. This lately happened in the case of an aged woman, whose grown-up son had ill-treated her. She was missed, and was afterwards found suspended from a tree. The women have nothing to indemnify them for their incessant and laborious work, not even good clothing, for this right of the fair sex in Europe is claimed among the Indians by the men. It is singular that these women, who are condemned constantly to work like slaves, refuse to do any work whatever if they marry a white man, and, the Whites being entirely in the power of the Indians, and the relations of their wives, they are obliged to submit to this. Sisters have great

593 Sisters have great privileges among these Indians. All the horses which a young man steals, or captures in war, belong to them. If an Indian returns from an expedition on horseback, and meets his sister, he will immediately alight, and give her the horse; on the other hand, if he wishes to possess some object of value belonging to his sister, for instance, a dress, he goes and abruptly demands it, and immediately receives it; even should it be the very dress she is wearing, she will take it off at once, and give it to her brother.

837 Prudery is not a virtue of the Indian women; they have often two, three, or more lovers: infidelity is not often punished. There was only one woman among the Mandans, a piece of whose nose was cut off, a circumstance which is very common among the Blackfeet. If an Indian elopes with a married woman, the husband whom she has abandoned avenges himself by seizing the seducer's property, his horses and other things of value, to which the latter must quietly submit. Such a woman is never taken back. If a man has the eldest daughter of a family for his wife, he has a right to all her sisters. A chief business of the young men among these Indian [587] 584 tribes is to try their fortune with the young maidens and the women, and this, together with their 836 toilet, fills up the greater part of their time. They do not meet with many coy beauties. In the evening, and generally till late at night, they roam about the villages, or in the vicinity, or from one village to the other. They have a singular mode of displaying their achievements in this field, especially when they visit the women in their best dresses. On these occasions they endeavour to gain credit by the variety of their triumphs, and mark the number of conquered beauties by bundles of peeled osier twigs, painted red at the tips. These sticks are of two kinds. Most of them are from two to three feet in length, others five or six feet. The latter, being carried singly, are painted with white and red rings alternately, which indicates the number of conquests. The shorter sticks are only painted red at the tips, and every stick indicates an exploit, the number of which is often bound up into a pretty large bundle. Thick fasces of this kind are carried about by the dandies in their gallant excursions. Among the Mandans these sticks are generally quite plain; among the Manitaries, on the contrary, there is, usually, in the middle of the bundle, one larger stick, at the end of which there is a tuft of black feathers. These feathers indicate the favourite, and the dandies tell everybody that she is the person for whom this honour is intended. (See Plate XXI. Fig. 6.)

If these people have had familiar intercourse with a person who wore the white buffalo robe, a piece of skin of that colour is fastened to the stick; if she wore a red blanket, or buffalo robe, a piece of red cloth is fastened to the stick. This custom, which is well known among the Mandans and Manitaries, has not, to my knowledge, been mentioned by any traveller.

601 000 They have distinct names for the several degrees of relationship. The father's brother is called father, and the mother's sister, mother; cousins are called brothers and sisters. The